

Speech Mercurius
A D D R E S S

To all Candid and Impartial
ENGLISHMEN:

B E D N O

*A Short Enquiry into the general Conduct of
the Administration, as it regards chiefly
the Interests of Trade and Navigation, and
the Money Affairs of the Nation;*

*Whereby it will appear in what Condition Great
Britain now is to engage in a vigorous War.
Shewing also, that a constant Opposition to
Publick Measures, much less a Parliamentary
Secession on account thereof, is not to be
justified.*

Occasion'd by a Pamphlet, entitled,

*An Address to the Electors, and other free
Subjects of Great Britain; occasion'd by the
late Secession, &c.*

L O N D O N

*Printed by R. Baskett, near the Oxford
Street in Warwick Lane. MDCCLXXXIII.*

THE Spaniards Merchants ADDRESSES

To all Candid and Impartial

ENGLISHMEN.

BEING

A Short Enquiry into the general Conduct of
the Administration, as it regards chiefly
the Interests of Trade and Navigation, and
the Money Affairs of the Nation:



Whereby it will appear in what Condition Great
Britain now is to engage in a vigorous War.
Shewing also, that a constant Opposition to
Publick Measures, much less a Parliamentary
Session on account thereof, is not to be
justified.

Occasion'd by a Pamphlet, entitled,

An Address to the Electors, and other Free
Subjects of Great Britain; occasion'd by the
late Session, &c.

L O N D O N


Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford
Gates in Warwick Lane. MDCCLXXII.



T H E
Spanish Merchant's Address

To all Candid and Impartial
Englishmen; &c.

Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects,

UR Trade being now as it were at a Stand with *Spain*, and we of the mercantile Order having more Leisure upon our Hands than we desire, I thought I could not employ a lucid Interval to greater publick Utility, or more to my private Satisfaction, than to attempt, with all due Regard to the Judgment of my *Countrymen*, to rectify some mistaken Notions and Prejudices, which have of late too generally prevailed in this Nation: I mean such chiefly as have Relation to our *British* Trade and Navigation.

Unspeakable Art and Industry have been used by *Gentlemen*, who have dub'd themselves Patriots, to irritate more particularly the *trading Part* of this Kingdom against the King's Ministers; and this on Account of their honest and upright En-

B

deavours

deavours to maintain the Honour and Interest of the Nation without engaging *Britain* in *European* Wars and Distractions. Hard Fate of *Ministers* to be vilified and calumniated for having so tender a Regard to our commercial Interests! For while all the great *Potentates* of *Europe* have been wantonly exhausting their Blood and their Treasure; and this in foreign Countries where Millions of their Wealth have been annihilated, we *Britons* have been happily recovering our Strength, and augmenting our *Royal Navy* to such a Pitch, that we may reasonably hope will break the Measures of *France*, when they unite with any Power to shake our Establishment or distress us in Point of Navigation.

That we have been Sufferers by *Spain* in the Trade to our *American Colonies* is certain; nor is it less so, that by our Reluctance and Disinclination to quarrel with that Crown, we have gained more in two Years than we have lost in twenty; if we may be allowed to judge what would have come to pass from what heretofore actually has. For in the Year 1719, when we had an unhappy Difference with *Spain*, our *Exports* fell above Six hundred thousand Pounds per Annum. That an Administration should be traduced and buffeted for struggling hard to prevent such national Calamity to our Trade, is something above the ordinary Pitch of Infatuation and Insensibility.

That the best Measures have hitherto been pursued by the *Crown of England* for the general Preservation of our foreign Trade, as well as for its most vigorous Protection by Sea, in Case of Need, appears from the Address of our *Ministers* in drawing *France* and *Holland* into the *Hanover-Alliance*, while *England* was as likely then as now to come to an open Rupture with *Spain*. For by such wise
Counsels

Councils we happily prevented those Powers from jockeying us out of our Trade, by the great Advantages which they would have gained by a *Neutrality*; which Loss, had we sustain'd it, would not have been easily, if ever retrievable again; the Currents of Trade, like those of Water, being hard to be diverted from their Course.

Nor have *British Councils* only prevented *neutral Nations* from diverting the Channels of Trade from ours to their own Advantage, but so wisely have our Affairs been conducted, that we ourselves have reap'd the desirable Benefits of a *Neutrality*, while *France*, *Spain*, and the *Emperor* were engaged in the most expensive Wars. Hereby we not only avoided the Miseries of a consuming War both by Land and Sea, but we gained such commercial Advantages by the Profits of the *Commerce* only, and our general and uninterrupted Commerce during that Time, that *Englishmen*, from common Justice to Men in Power, ought not easily to forget.

The greatest Detriment our Trade has of late Years receiv'd, has been from several other Nations now supplying themselves, which we used to furnish, particularly with our *Woollen Manufactures*. Would our *Patriots*, instead of opposing every Thing, propose some of their Projects to prevent this, they would deserve the greatest Reverence and Popularity from the *Trading Part* of the Nation. *Britain* would be highly indebted to them, could they prevent the Genius of a *Colbert* any more than that of a *Mazarine* or a *Richlieu*.

The Spirit for Trade that prevails thro' *Christendom* has doubtless had no little Influence on the moderate Councils of *Great Britain*, lest upon being quarrelsome and piquing ourselves upon our superior Strength, we should put more Nations upon accomplishing that by Trade, which they

are not able to do by the Sword. Before the Treaty with *Portugal*, made by Sir *Paul Metbuen*, we well know, that from 1684 to 1703, that Nation supplied itself, and the *Brazils* by their own Fabricks of *Woollen Goods*; and the Materials of their *Woollen Cloths* were their own and *Spanish Wool*, and no other; so that we should not forget that other Nations have *Wooll* as well as *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; and 'tis but cheating ourselves to fancy that all the Materials for woollen Cloths are of our own Growth; for *Portugal*, as well as *Spain*, has as good *Wooll* as ever grew in *England*.

'Tis a vulgar Mistake to think that it is not in the Power of other Nations to set up *woollen Manufactures*, and carry them on successfully without the Assistance of *English Wooll*. The *Gentlemen* who were happily instrumental in defeating the *French Bill of Commerce*, set this Matter in a satisfactory Light before the Kingdom.—They appealed to all *Gentlemen* both within and without Doors, who had travelled into other Countries, whether they did not eat Mutton abroad, as much and as good as they do in *England*, and whether their Sheep there do not wear *Fleeces* and not *Dog's Hair*, as was said by those who then run away with the like vulgar Error.—They appeal'd to the Testimony of our woollen Manufacturers themselves, who every Day give a much greater Price for *Spanish Wool* than the very best that grows in *England*.—They appeal'd to the Testimony of the famous *Monsieur De Wit*, for the vast Value of woollen Yarn that was annually spun in *Picardy*, a single Province in *France*, and sold to the *Hollanders*.—They shew'd the Commencement, Progress, and Success of the woollen Manufacture in *Portugal* with her own *Wooll*, before it was knock'd on the Head by Sir *Paul Metbuen's Treaty*

ty with that Kingdom.——They produc'd various *French Edicts* against the Exportation of Wooll, and for the Encouragement of the woollen Manufacture.——They produc'd the Testimony of the famous Mr. *Mun*, printed and licens'd by a Secretary of State in the Reign of King *Charles II.* *That other Nations neither want Art nor Materials for this Performance.*——After all these Evidences, and without the least Answer given to any one of them, for my Countrymen still to be deceived, is very extraordinary, with this prevailing Error, “ That all other Nations want the necessary Materials for the woollen Manufacture ; that they “ want the Wooll itself; and let us but effectually “ secure and keep our Wooll at Home, all other “ Nations must buy from us; our Artists may be “ drawn away: But if they cannot carry our “ Wooll along with them, we are in no Danger of “ losing our woollen-Manufactures.”——Whoever would see those mistaken Notions fully and satisfactorily refuted, I refer them to the *British Merchant*, set on foot and conducted by the joint Abilities of several of the most eminent Merchants of *London* at that time: by Sir *Charles Cooke*, Sir *Theodore Janssen*, *James Milner*, Esq; Mr. *Nathaniel Toriano*, Mr. *Joshua Gee*, Mr. *Christopher Haynes*, Mr. *David Martin*, and *Henry Martin*, Esq; late Inspector General of the *Exports* and *Imports*.

Whatever Opinion *Englishmen* may entertain of other Nations, yet when they are drove to it by unsuccessful Wars, they will at length set up Manufactures of their own; and from the Cheapness of Labour arising from their greater Poverty, they will still be in a greater Capacity to injure our Trade. Perhaps our successful Wars with *France* might spirit them up to mimick the *British* Policy, and since turn themselves so much

to Arts, Manufacture and Navigation: And not the like Success with other Nations but that also upon following the Example of *France*? By suffering other Nations to be embroil'd in Wars while we have kept out of them, has not only given us the desirable Advantages of a *Neutrality*, but has prevented other Nations from turning their Politicks more to Trade, to the irretrievable Detriment of the *British* Commerce.

The great Diminution of our Specie, occasion'd chiefly by the immense Expence of *King William's* and *Queen Anne's Wars*, shews from past Experience, that Government is best acquainted with the *Trading Interests* of this Nation, especially at this Time of Day, which has hitherto given Preference to peaceful Councils. Had we been unable to have supply'd this Loss by the wise Management of *Publick Credit*, our Trade must have been deplorably affected for want of competent Specie to have circulated it in the Manner we have been able to do: Contrary Measures to those which have been pursued by our Court, must certainly have still more and more drain'd us of our *Cash*, instead of augmented it, as *British* Councils have done. So great likewise would have been the Pressure of our national Incumbrances, that we should have had little Trade left among us, unless that of *Money'd-Men* and *Usurers*; who by trafficking with *Stocks* and *Funds*, and lending upon great Interest and Premiums, might have drawn the Riches of the Nation into much fewer Hands, than they are already; whereby not only the Circulation of our Commerce among the Trading Part of the Kingdom must have been proportionably diminish'd, but so far injur'd, as *Paper-Circulation* in Consequence thereof increas'd.

For the Paper Effects and artificial Money raised by Wars which increase our Debts, having

in their common Operation the like Consequences to our Trade that actual *Money* has floating in the Nation, the Price of our Commodities will be rais'd in Proportion to such an Augment of Paper Circulation; which must be so far injurious to our Trade, as it still more and more enables other Nations to undersell and supplant us.

As a new Creation of Debts and Taxes, and an Increase of publick Securities in Consequence thereof, sends our Manufactures abroad dearer than they would otherwise go; so it enhances the Markets for foreign Goods upon us at home; such Commodities always yielding the best Price, where there is the greatest Quantity of circulating Property. Our past Measures therefore have been the most effectual Way whereby to prevent our being not only drain'd of our *real Cash*, but quite bloated with *Paper Effects*, and over-run with mere *Stockjobbers* and *Money-mongers*.

As 'tis the Happiness of this Nation, that the Support of the Crown arises from Revenues raised upon Trade, it will always be the Interest of the Crown to support *That* which supports itself. By the State of the Revenue therefore from Time to Time, we may in a great measure judge of the Decline or Prosperity of our Trade. In Consequence of this Principle it has been well observ'd, by one of my Fellow-Traders, who I was glad to see distinguish himself in Favour of publick Measures, when the Nation was causelessly heated and inflam'd: It was observ'd by that *Gentleman*,* I say, that as foreign Wars must naturally sink the National Revenue; and if to so great a Degree, as to the total Annihilation of the *Sinking Fund*, as it seems our *Patriots* themselves have acknowledg'd; so in consequence of such a Diminution

An Address to the Merchants of Great Britain.

tion of the Revenue, every Class of Traders must certainly be Sufferers in proportion, from the *Merchant* to the lowest *Retailer* in those Commodities from whence so considerable a Part of the Revenue arises. Was this Loss to Traders in general, comprehending every Class thereof to the Consumer, estimated, as he further says, at no larger *Annuity* than the *Loss* our *Patriots* allow the Revenue by Wars will sustain; which indeed no one, who well considers the matter, will believe the numerous Body of Traders, through whose Hands such a *Capital* must circulate, in consequence of such a Rise in the Revenue as 1,200,000 *per Annum*, can support themselves in the manner they do, were not their Gains far more considerable: However, had this only been the Case, the *Loss* to the *Trading Part* of the Nation, considering the distracted State of *Europe* during the Power of the present Administration, may very justly be presum'd no way inconsiderable; if we may be allowed to judge of the *Duration* of future Wars by that of the *last England* was engaged in. Nay, were we engaged in a War for no longer Time than half the Period of *Queen Anne's*, which will hardly be looked upon by any one as an extravagant Imagination, when once the Sword is drawn; the *Loss* to the *Trading Part* of the Nation, consistent with the very Sentiments of our *Patriots* themselves, will amount to little less than *Six Millions and an half of Money*.

Besides, had the *Sinking Fund* been totally annihilated by War, there must have been a considerable annual Addition made to the National Revenue for the current Service to support that War; and the *Trading* as well as *Landed Interests* must have born their Proportion, as the same *Gentleman* justly observes. For what would avail *Four*
 2 *Shillings*

Shillings in the Pound on *Land*, and the *Malt-Tax*, which produce no more than 2,750,000 for the current Service to maintain a vigorous War? Upon the Annihilation of the *Sinking Fund*, *Duties* on *Trade* must not only be greatly anticipated, but such *new* Taxes imposed, which, be they laid how they will, must so ultimately terminate on Trade, as will be no inconsiderable additional Weight upon our whole Commerce. For *Land*, *Trade* and *Manufactures* have been justly said to be the three Feet upon which the Nation stands; and what *Land* is not able to support, *Trade* and *Manufactures* in some Shape must. If we may be allowed to judge what would be the annual Expence of a future War against *France* and *Spain*, (as if we engage with the latter, we have little Reason to believe the other will not come into it) from what was the Expence of the last, we shall find that 2,750,000 Pounds bears no great Proportion to 4,851,377 Pounds, which was the annual Expence at an Average during *Queen Anne's War*: And if Trade will undergo so great a Declension by War, as to occasion the Loss of the *Sinking Fund* thereby, as our Patriots, it must not be forgot, have unwarily acknowledg'd it may, notwithstanding their Pretences to be angry that we have so long kept out of one: If Trade, I say, under these Disadvantages, is to be loaded with the Deficiency necessary to carry on a vigorous War, it must amount to such a round Number of Millions as I dread to mention, provided both the *Duration* and *annual Expence* of future Wars are to be judg'd of by those of the last. And as the Value of Money is less among our Neighbour-Nations since the late Wars, and their *Revenues* in Time of Peace far more considerable than they used to be, so certainly will their Re-

venues in Time of War. We very much deceive ourselves therefore perhaps, if we imagine our Revenues in future Wars can be less than in past, while our Neighbour's are likely to be greater than in the last.

We will suppose, however, to put this Matter in the most easy and moderate Light, that we were able to carry on War with 4,000,000 *per Annum* only for the current Service; yet, should our *Sinking Fund* vanish thereupon, we have then 1,250,000 somehow to be rais'd to support it: And if this annual Expence should fall upon Trade and Manufactures, by the Anticipation of *old Duties* and the Imposition of *new*, and a War should last no longer than half the Time of *Queen Anne's*, it will amount to above *Six Millions and a half* of Money more. So that what with the Losses of Traders in general, supposed to be occasion'd by the Loss of the *Sinking Fund*, together with the additional Burthen that must in some manner have been rais'd upon the Trading Interests, the Total amounts to no less than *Thirteen Millions*.

If to this we add likewise the additional Burthen upon Land for the like Period, we shall find that it could not be less than 800,000 *per Annum* at a Medium more than what has been rais'd thereon during the Power of our present Administration, which must create a further national Expence of above *Four Millions three hundred thousand Pounds* more; which added to the foregoing Sum of *Thirteen Millions*, makes above *Seventeen Millions three hundred thousand Pounds*. And if so many Millions had been drain'd out of the Bowels of the *Landed Interest*, will not this be taking away so much of the *spending Money* of the Nation, and thereby likewise proportionably affect the whole *Trading Interest* in general?

From

From the Prevention hitherto of those *Evils* to the *Trading* and *Landed Interests*, we may be able to pass a pretty just Judgment upon the Conduct of *past* Measures; and determine whether they have not been calculated for the common Interests of the Trading Part of this Kingdom. But great Pains have been taken to persuade my *Countrymen*, that *Evils* prevented go for no *Evils*, and their *Prevention* for no Merit, because they were not visibly perceived by our Eyes, nor sensibly felt by our Nerves, before we found them at a Distance from us. If my *Countrymen* wilfully shut their Eyes against all Conviction, they may deny this *past Freedom* from such *Evils* to be the Effect of the Measures taken; and to persist in it, that no such *Evils* to *Trade* would have happened, or could have been justly feared: And in this manner they may talk for ever against all possible Light; and such who do so, rather deserve to be laugh'd at than reason'd with.

However, Experience, I am afraid, will soon convince us, that these great *Savings* both to the *Landed* and *Trading Interests* are not groundless, but founded in such Consequences as we must naturally expect from engaging in a vigorous War.

As *past* Measures then have surprizingly preserved *publick Credit*, naturally reduced the Interest of Money, and thrown more People into Trade, whereby our Tonnage in Shipping has very considerably augmented: As so many Millions have been saved to the Trading and Landed Interests, our Debts notwithstanding diminish'd since the present *Ministry* took place, and yet our *Royal Navy* rear'd to a Height the World never before knew: As our Measures have given instead of depriv'd us of the great Benefits of a *Neutrality* in
C 2 Trade,

Trade, hinder'd the Increase of *Paper-Circulation*, and thereby not only prevented a *Rise* in the Price of our *native* Commodities to others, but also in the Price of *foreign* ones to ourselves: As these are the visible and apparent Effects of the Councils of *Great Britain*, *Gentlemen* must certainly with a very ill Grace put the Injuries sustained by our *American Traders*, in Balance against all these national Advantages. Nay, it does not appear that there was any Intention in the Crown of *Great Britain* to suffer any of its *Trading Subjects* to be injur'd; *Satisfaction* for past, and *Security* from future Injuries being resolutely insisted on. Of this we have the strongest Conviction from his *Catholick Majesty* himself, who in his *Manifesto* assures us, that the *Crown of England* has made no mean Condescensions to that of *Spain*, however the latter might expect it, from that domestick Strife and Confusion raised with no other View but to oblige us to it.

I cannot but think therefore that all those Aggravation of the Behaviour of the Court of *Spain* towards us, as displayed at large in the *Address*,* are only a Condemnation of the Conduct of our *Patriots*, who assuredly occasioned *Spain* to attempt to make better Terms for herself than ever the *Crown of England* intended to comply with; and sure it was no Dishonour in *Great Britain* to reject with Contempt their unreasonable Propositions. But I am afraid it will prove to the eternal Ignominy of our *Patriots* who instigated *Spain* to pursue those very Measures, which are likely to occasion an open Rupture between the two Crowns; and who made *Don Geraldino* weakly believe, that *Spain* might have any Terms with *England*, our *Ministers* not daring to go to War by Reason of the

* Pag. 8, 9, 10, &c.

the Strength of their Enemies at Home. But *Spain* find themselves very much misled and disappointed in their too great Reliance on the Power of this most extraordinary *Opposition*, who are certainly intitled to the Honour of having kindled a War between us and *Spain* at last ; and justified the Administration from their past Conduct, should they ever so vigorously engage in it, be the *Event* what it will, or its *Duration* ever so long. Why therefore need the *Ministry* be intimidated from engaging in a War? Unfortunate *Gentlemen*, that they should be so many Years labouring to do Honour to, and more firmly establish that Administration they have ever intended to blacken and destroy !

But why have we forbore so long with *Spain*? Why have we not exerted our Strength sooner, and went to War with them *ten Years* ago, as our Patriots in their Address advise†? The Answer to this is obvious. We wisely let *Spain* by their wilde and extravagant Politicks sufficiently reduce and impoverish themselves, while we, by our pacifick Forbearance, reap'd all the Benefits above represented. 'Tis true, they have put us to some considerable occasional Expences; but from the Management of our Ministers, our very Expences have only tended to beggar *Spain*, and strengthen *Great Britain* in general.

We are told by our Patriots indeed, that during the last twelve Years we have spent near *Twenty Eight Millions* of Money. And had these *Gentlemen* been honest and impartial enough, they would let their *Countrymen* have known, that during the *Ten Years* War of *Queen Anne* we spent *Forty Eight Millions*

Millions five hundred and thirteen thousand seven hundred and seventy three Pounds. But this no more suited the Purpose of these *upright Gentlemen*, than to let the Nation know how many of these *Forty Eight Millions* were unavoidably spent out of the Nation, and how many *Millions* of the *Twenty Eight* they mention, have been spent *within* it, by hitherto avoiding a War. Had they made a Calculate of this, the People of *England* would have been able to have judged of the Merit of the Administration, who have so long kept them out of a War; as likewise of the Desert of those who have been restless to plunge them into one, and this only from the groundless Hope of thereby getting their Places.

chiefly

Had they inform'd you, that during the Ten Years War of *Queen Anne* we spent near *Twenty four Millions* entirely out of the Kingdom, in Subsidies to *Foreign Princes*, and to maintain Troops in *Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Flanders*: Had these *Gentlemen* told you likewise, that out of the *Twenty eight Millions* we have spent these twelve Years, that above *seven Eights* of the same have been spent in *Great Britain*, in raising her royal Navy to that glorious Height it now appears: Had our *Worthies* propagated these plain Truths, and shew'd that what we had spent in *Hessian Troops*, and in occasional Grants to a few *subsidiary Princes* to prevent a War, bears no manner of Proportion to what we spent in the same Manner in the last War; and what we may have the like Occasion to expend in a fresh one: Had these things, I say, been ingenuously laid before you, it would have been little to the Reputation of that Cause our Patriots have espoused. But supposing we should not have Occasion to spend so many Millions out of the Kingdom in future Wars, as we have

have done in past ; to whom are we indebted for this extraordinary National Blessing? Is it not entirely owing to that Administration, which has so greatly strengthen'd our Hands by the Splendor and Terror of our Fleets, and so little weaken'd our Pur-ses by squandering our Treasure in foreign Nations?

When these *Gentlemen* are exaggerating the Magnitude of our National Revenue, they should, were they honest enough, let their *Countrymen* know, that as nothing is either great or small, but in Comparison with something else ; so *Twenty-eight Millions* in twelve Years, as large a Sum as it may sound, is far inferior to upwards of *Forty Millions*, which, I am well inform'd, has been rais'd in *Old Spain* during the same Period of Time, the Power that has given Occasion to our Expences. And if we consider the large Expences of his *Imperial Majesty*, when he unhappily united with *Spain* to injure the *British* Commerce and Navigation, and the extraordinary Expences the *Empire*, *Spain* and *France* have been at since the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Vienna* in 1731, the Expence of *Great Britain* for twelve Years, considering the Part She is always presum'd to act in the Affairs of *Europe* for the Support of her Honour and Interest, must be thought very inconsiderable, when compared with the profuse and extravagant Expences of our Neighbour-Nations ; and this too out of their own Territories to the apparent Impoverishment of their Kingdoms.

With respect to *Spain*, it is apparent that we have grown richer and more powerful, as she has grown poorer and weaker by giving them their *Spanish-Career*. This appears from the present great Declension of their Revenues, the Arrear-ages of their Navy and Army, the Reduction of
the

the Royal Expence itself, as likewise the arbitrary Reduction of the Interest of their publick Debts, which has ruin'd Numbers of their Trading Subjects. Does not this, the well known State of *Old Spain*, and the indifferent Condition of their Navy, compared with that of *Britain*, indicate, that *Spanish* Politicks have not kept Pace with those of *England*; and that *Spain*, at this Time of Day, has quarrell'd with *Great Britain* at no little Disadvantage? And if the ill Politicks of that Court occasion a Stagnation of the *British Commerce* in *Spain*, does it not immediately affect themselves, and this in such a Proportion as our *Exports* thither increase their *Finances*, and our *Imports* from thence prevent the Beggary and Misery of the trading Part of their People? When they hurt us in our Trade therefore, do they not necessarily injure themselves likewise; and this in a greater Degree than they would do with any other Nation, none taking so much of their Produce as *England* does? Is setting up a *Neapolitan Prince* ample Compensation to *Spain* for the immense Expence they have been at to bring it about; an Expence which has drain'd them of their Treasure, and reduc'd their trading Subjects to a very deplorable Condition? But is that *Prince* secure on the Throne, if *Spain* does not maintain a good Understanding with *Great Britain*? They may soon experience that that Power which made *Don Carlos* Successor to the late *Duke of Tuscany*, may possibly unmake him King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and reinstate some other Potentate.

As *Spain* have injur'd themselves by their Politicks with *England*, so *France* does not appear to have so greatly better'd their own Kingdom by their refined Projects, as some of my *Countrymen*, I have observ'd, to depreciate the Abilities of our
own

own *Ministers* are very fond of imagining. The great Expence of the late War to *France* in Favour of *Stanislaus*, does not seem to be such an extraordinary Fetch in the *old Cardinal's* System; The many Millions spent in *Poland*, ~~the Rhine~~, on the *Rhine*, and in *Italy*; and this only in Purchase at last of the beggarly Territory of *Lorain*, whose annual Revenue does not amount to above 140,000 Pounds *per an.* and which too *France* were to all useful Purposes as equally Masters of before, as they will be after the Death of *Stanislaus*. These extraordinary Expences of the Crown of *France*, which I have seen pretty accurately calculated at above *Sixteen Millions Sterling*, spent out of the Dominions of *France*, and at the Loss of many of their bravest Generals, as well as of some Thousands of their Subjects, has not put the Kingdom into such an extraordinary State to espouse the Cause of *Spain* against the Power of *Great Britain*, and the Alliances we are likely to bring about, should that be the Case.

France too has lavishly squander'd away her Millions, which a *Minister* there can do without Account, in bribing such Powers, who seem to have no other Intention than to take their Money, and procure some Advantage in Point of Commerce. But should *these Potentates* find *France* grasping at such Power as must in the End swallow them up, their own Security will influence them time enough to desert an Ally whose Power they have only made subservient to their own Purposes. So that the *old Cardinal* may at length become the Dupe of all *Europe*, for playing the Fool so extravagantly with *French Gold*. The Court of *Great Britain*, though it has laboured under no little Difficulties, from the too great Prevalence of a domestick Opposition, has yet proved herself a Match for *France* in every Res-
pect:

spect: And would *Englishmen* be wise enough to discountenance those who would divide us at Home, to prevent the Success of our Councils abroad, we have little Reason to distrust the Success of our future Measures.

Satisfaction for past Injuries to our *American Traders*, and *Security* for the future, is what the Crown of *England* has vigorously insisted on. And if *Spain* have refus'd to comply with the Stipulations they had solemnly ratify'd, we cannot believe it to proceed from any other Cause, than the feeding themselves with the idle Hope, that the *British* Ministry durst not engage the Nation in a War, by Reason of our unhappy Divisions at Home. Nor could the Opposition possibly have kept alive the Spirit of Discontent among us, had not their Conduct spirited up *Spain* to a Non-Compliance with their Engagements. For let us suppose the *Convention* comply'd with, and a solemn further Treaty of Commerce enter'd into, wherein our Right to navigate in the *American Seas* was explicitly preserved, as it appears under the King of *Spain's* own Hand, the Crown of *Great Britain* has resolutely insisted on, could the Opposition have had any longer Chance to keep their Heads above Water? Nothing therefore could be further from their Desire, than that *Satisfaction* and *Security*, the Ministry were likely to obtain without a War? 'Twas their Business therefore to damn the *Preliminary Treaty*, which bid fair for both.

That our Patriots were never sincere in desiring *Satisfaction* and *Security* to our *American Traders* is certain. For tho' they would have it thought so, for the Sake of effectuating the Destruction of our Administration, and have all of a sudden turned strenuous Advocates for the *South Sea Company*;

ny*; yet can we ever forget how, on other Occasions, they have attempted shamefully to blacken and reproach that very Company on account of their Trade to *America*?

Does not every body remember what Pains these *Gentlemen* formerly took to halloo the *Spaniards* upon the *South-Sea Company*? Did they not attempt to shew the large Quantities of Goods, which were shipp'd off for the *West-Indies* under borrow'd Names, and re-exported in the *South-Sea Company's* Vessels, as well as what was sent in their annual Ships on private Accounts? Did they not alarm us, that such Practices were not only prejudicial to the *Company's Trade*, but of very great Injury to *Spain*, such clandestine Practices being contrary to the express Tenor of the *Forty-second Article of the Asiento Contract*? Were they not the first who alarm'd *Spain*, that such unwarrantable Practices were a Violation of the *Contract*, and not only injurious to the *Company's Affairs*, but destructive of the general Good of Trade; since the fair *Spanish Merchant* could not possibly carry on his Commerce to any Advantage, while others stocked the Markets in *America* with Goods, that neither paid Freight, Wages, &c. which were born by the Company, and therefore such could undersell them considerably, and engross the Trade to themselves? However sanguin therefore these *Gentlemen* pretend now to be, in pleading the Cause of the *South-Sea Company* only to answer their Purposes of Division and Confusion; yet have they not at other times told us, that the Difficulties and Delays which the *South-Sea Company* have met with in obtaining from the Court of *Spain* their *Scedulas* for their annual Ships, have been owing to such like Practices? In

D 2

short,

• *Address to the Electors*, p. 10, 11, &c.

short, these *Gentlemen* have represented this Trade to have been the only Cause of all our Misunderstandings of late Years with the Court of *Spain*. If then there is any Truth in what these *Gentlemen* pretend to have formerly discover'd, how can they now barefacedly presume to espouse the Cause of the Company against *Spain*, when heretofore they justified that of *Spain* against the Company? With what Consistency can our Patriots exaggerate the ill Treatment of *Spain* to the *South-Sea Company*, when they have heretofore endeavour'd to shew that they justly deserv'd it? Will the Eyes of my *Countrymen* never be open to think of these *Gentlemen* as they really deserve? Will *Englishmen* everlastingly be the *Dupes* and *Make-games* of those, who appear to have no other Regard to their Commerce and Navigation, than as it shall tend to work the Destruction of the present *Ministry*, and put them in their *Places*?

But supposing the *South-Sea Company* have been no better treated by the *Crown of Spain* than our private *American Traders*, as there is great Reason to believe, our Patriots sure are the last Men in the Kingdom, who, without the grossest Self-condemnation, can presume to espouse the Cause of the Company at all, much less to give themselves the iniquitous Air of a *Parliamentary Secession* in Justification of a Company they had before so egregiously stigmatiz'd and reproach'd; and this upon account of those very Practices for which the Court of *Spain* pretend to justify their Conduct towards them.* Either they must absolutely renounce what they writ against that Company a few Years ago; or it is impossible they should ever be able to justify their Conduct since.

As our Patriots then appear to be the original Authors of all the Ravages committed by the

* See *Manifesto*. *Spaniards*

Spaniards in *America*, by their turbulent Clamours, which reach'd the Court of *Spain*, about the Smuggling and Interloping Trade, they suggested to be carry'd on in *America*; so these extraordinary Friends to *Great Britain* have certainly been the only Men in the Kingdom, who have endeavour'd to prevent our having *Satisfaction* and *Security*, but by Force of Arms. For when both were upon the Brink of being obtained, what could their *Secession* mean, but absolutely to defeat them, by raising such Discontent and Infatuation at home, as must necessarily damp the Weight and Influence of our Councils at *Spain*? And tho' too many of my *Countrymen* were unhappily made to believe, by mere Art and Declamation, that the *Convention* was not good enough for them; yet *Spain*, we find, since thinks it too good for us. Why otherwise should they be tempted to violate it, if it was so much to *their* Advantage, and so little to *ours*?

Without entering minutely into every Article of this *preliminary Treaty* to prevent a War, this is certain and indisputable; that such future Security for our *American* Navigation was obtain'd, as *pre-existent Treaties* entitl'd us to; those *Treaties* being the Basis and Foundation of a future *definitive Treaty* of Commerce with *Spain*: And if subsisting *Treaties* are self-sufficient and satisfactory upon that Head, as our *Patriots* have elaborately attempted to shew they are, then the *Convention* did absolutely procure that *Security*; and a *posterior Treaty* was only requisite to render that *Right* evident and explicit, which the Court of *Spain* might think uncertain and ambiguous. And lest *Spain* should imagine that *England* understood those *Treaties* in such a Manner, as excluded us from the Right of a free and uninterrupted Navigation

in all the *American Seas*, our *Plenipotentiaries* at *Madrid* had exprefs and positive Orders to signify to the Court of *Spain*, as appears by his *Catholick Majesty's* Manifesto, that the just and natural Sense of those *Treaties* was, that *British* Ships were thereby not on any Account liable to be search'd upon the high Seas in *America*: As this is the Construction *Great Britain* has put upon *Treaties*; and as the *Convention* is founded on those *Treaties*, can any Man say, without a Violence upon his Understanding, that it was not the Intention of the *Crown of England* to secure the Navigation of its *American Traders* by that *Convention*? That this was the Case, we have the Testimony of the King of *Spain* himself, who has declar'd that our *Plenipotentiaries* made frequent Instances, and those in the strongest Terms, that this was the great and capital Point the King their Master peremptorily insisted upon, as being consistent with *Treaties*, and the Laws of Nations.

Had therefore the Negotiations of our *Ministers* abroad been back'd with the Weight and Efficacy of Unanimity and Concord at home, there can be little Reason to believe, but this desirable Point would have been fully and explicitly obtain'd by a new Treaty of Commerce, where our Right to a free Navigation in *America* would have been maintain'd, liable to no Cavil, Equivocation or Ambiguity.

France foreseeing the natural Effects of those cool and moderate Councils we had pursued; and how greatly they must necessarily tend to the Interest of the *British* Commerce, stepp'd in between *England* and *Spain*; to prevent that lasting Friendship and good Understanding likely to be cemented between them. *French* Measures thus co-operating with those of our *Patriots* to defeat the Negotiations

Negotiations of *Britain*; and this from that silly and ridiculous Notion, which has been artfully propagated both at home and abroad, "That as the *English Ministry* must be destroyed by a War, from the great Strength of their Enemies at home, they would rather come into any Measures with *Spain* than dare to draw the Sword." From this idle and groundless Notion, I say, and our domestick Feuds and Animosities, we are at length oblig'd to obtain *That* by Arms, which we might certainly have done without them, had not the worst of Arts been practis'd at home, to lessen our Weight and Dignity in foreign Nations. Let *Englishmen* judge therefore, how far we are indebted to those superlative Friends to their Country, for uniting *France* and *Spain* against the *Establishment, Trade* and *Navigation* of *England*.

Yet these *Gentlemen* boast of the extraordinary Services they have done their Country by the Pains*, they say, "they have taken to make themselves Masters, and their Care to explain the most *abstruse* and *important Points*, (such as the *National Debts*, the *Revenues*, the *Croil List*, *Treaties*, *Trade*, &c.) whereby, they declare they have render'd the People of this Kingdom better Judges of their true Interests, than this or perhaps any other People have been for any time past."

Would not any one unacquainted with the *Debates* and *Writings* of these *Gentlemen*, naturally believe, that they were not only the most consummate, but the most generous and communicative *Statesmen*; and that the People of *England* were under the highest Obligations to them for that inimitable *System* of political Knowledge they have
many

* *Address*, &c. p. 2.

many Years propagated through the Nation? Yet as little acquainted as a meer practical Trader may be presum'd to be, with such important political Disquisitions, they mention, I would venture to undertake, to shew my *Countrymen*, that all their Labours upon these Topicks have had no other Effect, than to puzzle, confound, and mislead the Nation, with respect to our *National Debts, Revenues, Treaties, and Trade, &c.*

With Regard to our *Treaties*, how highly you are indebted to them for their Lectures upon that Head, fully appears by their shameful and scandalous Misrepresentation of them in their celebrated Performance, called *Politicks on both Sides, &c.* where, to answer the Views of national Discontent and Sedition, the Affairs and Transactions of all *Europe* are egregiously perverted, in order to harmonize with that false, and even romantick Account they have given you of *Foreign Affairs*.

How highly you are indebted to these *Gentlemen* for their extraordinary Care and Concern, to give you the most just and authentick Account of our *Treaties*, permit me to recommend to your candid Perusal, a Pamphlet which gave me no little Satisfaction upon that Head, called, *The Original Series of Wisdom and Policy, manifested in a Review of our Foreign Negotiations and Transactions for several Years past, &c.* Tho' this Performance has bore four Editions, yet our *Patriots* have not hitherto been able to answer it; and we may defy them ever to do so, to the Satisfaction of any Man who will give his Understanding fair Play, and not suffer himself to be the Bubble and Laughing-stock of a Knot of crafty and ill-intention'd Men, whose Labours, I am sorry to say, have only been devoted to publick Imposition and Deceit.

Nor

Nor are you under greater Obligations to these *Gentlemen*, for the extraordinary Knowledge they have diffus'd over this Nation from time to time, upon the State of our Trade. For where have they shewed either their Skill or their Honesty upon this most useful and important Topick? So warp'd and strain'd have all their Sentiments upon this Head been, with a Design to misguide and delude, that he who grounds his Opinions on what they have said on this Subject, can only have the most confus'd, crude and indigested Notions upon these Matters. What a contemptible Figure these *Gentlemen* lately made in their Dissertations on the Balance of Trade, is fresh in every ones Memory. Tho' all who have reason'd justly and clearly upon these Affairs, have not been able to substitute any other Characteristicks whereby to shew the Increase of national Trade, than what have been often mentioned to shew the present State of our own; yet have not these *Gentlemen* exerted all their Talents at popular Declamation, to make those Marks and Signs, which manifest the prosperous State of our national Trade, to be Signs only of our Poverty and Decay of Commerce?

When the greatest Royal Fleet in the World can be readily mann'd, 'tis no Sign, with these *Gentlemen*, that Seamen increase, and that they do not perish in long Voyages. When the Expence in Foreign Materials, requisite for a large Navy, can be born without any Show of Weakness or Decay; and when such Outgoings are unfelt by a People, 'tis no evident Mark with our *Patriots*, that there are secret Springs by which the Expence is fed, and that there is Treasure brought in more than to answer what is carried out.

With these *Gentlemen*, neither are our numerous *Merchant Fleets*, our powerful Navies, and our great Magazines for military and naval Stores, Signs of a thriving People, and of themselves real and substantial Wealth, tho' the most judicious have allowed them to be far more useful than any other Riches to this Nation. Our constant trading Stock of native Manufactures; our constant Stock of foreign Commodities circulated through the World, as well as our own Country, by *British* Traders and in *British* Bottoms; our low Value of Money, and high Purchase of Lands; our Increase of Tillage and Agriculture, of live Cattle, and of our general Rental in Consequence thereof; our yearly Increase of People; the Resort and Residence here of Foreigners, of every State and Country, on Account of the Lenity of our Government, and the Encouragement given to Trade in general: These, I say, instead of being Signs that our Foreign Traffick has conveyed Spirits and Nourishment into each Vein of the Body-Politick, are nought but Signs, with such *Politicians*, of being in an unsound and consumptive Condition.—That our so many Years avoiding Foreign Wars, and having no expensive Armies abroad, but spending the Bulk of the National Revenues among ourselves, and really converting our *National Expences* into a *National Stock* are not only Signs, with these *Gentlemen*, of the greatest Poverty and Distress, but of the worst Management of the Publick Treasure.

As these *Gentlemen*, in their Lectures on the State of the Nation with Regard to its Trade and Opulence, have laboured to shew you that what we daily see and experience are neither the Signs of our Nation being in a prosperous and powerful Condition, nor the natural Effects of those Publick

lick

lick Measures, which have been so steddily pursued; may we not very reasonably ask our Patriots what are the Marks and Characteristicks of a Country being in a flourishing Condition; and what other Measures than those which have been preferr'd, would have put *Great Britain* into the State she at present is, and enabl'd her to make the Figure in the World She at present does? So little of Policy as a meer Trader may be presum'd to know, I could almost venture to take upon me to bid these *Gentlemen* Defiance, to prove that any other Conduct than that the *House of Hanover* has judg'd eligible, could have rais'd these Kingdoms to the Condition they now are in; or, to point out what other Marks of general Prosperity could have taken Place since the late Wars, considering the embroil'd State of *Europe*, than what this Nation presents to our View. So far therefore am I from entertaining an Opinion that the Writings of these *Gentlemen* have render'd the *People of this Kingdom*, as they have confidently asserted, *better Judges of their true Interest in Matters of Trade, than this, or perhaps any other People have been in any Time past*: So far am I from thinking this, that would any *Gentleman* of more Leisure, extract the excellent Maxims and Principles which run through the *Debates* and *Writings* of these *Politicians* upon Matters of Trade, instead of meeting with any useful Knowledge in 'em, they would only make the compleatest System of political Nonsense, Cavil, and Inconsistency that was ever broach'd in *any Nation*, or at *any Time*, to mislead, perplex, and confound the People.

Nor have these *Gentlemen* been less unfortunate in their learned Animadversions on our *National Debts* and *Revenues*, &c. notwithstanding their extravagant Pretensions of having appeared as

profound as elaborate upon these Subjects. By the little Knowledge that one in my Situation may be supposed to have in those Matters, I can't be persuaded they have either talk'd or writ upon these Affairs like Men of Business; and much less do I think they have manifested any honest Intention to set the People right in these complicated Concerns.

Whenever they have thought fit to enter the Lists upon these Topicks, every one must have observed the chief Aim of their Labours has always been to persuade you, that the general Conduct of our *Ministry* has tended to augment our National Burthen and Incumbrances, rather than abate and diminish them. But they have never been able to make this appear to the Nation. For, sure no Man can be so weak and credulous, as to believe that the great Drift and Bent of the Measures of the Administration to keep this Nation out of the Broils of *Europe*, was not the most natural and effectual Way to pay off our *Debts*, and reduce our *Taxes*. If such a Plan of Administration had not a necessary Tendency to that End, may we not very reasonably again ask these *Gentlemen*, What other Measures possibly could? What an Insult to your Understandings must it be, for these *Gentlemen* to impose that egregious Absurdity upon you, that warlike are less expensive than pacifick Measures; and that War, which was the Cause of our *National Debts*, is more likely to get rid of them than Peace?

If then such Measures could only be calculated to bring the Nation out of Debt, our *Patriots* depreciating the Credit and Authority of our *Ministry* on Account thereof, could only be, that they were afraid we should have been too soon out of Debt, the Administration too popular, and these *Worthies* consequently deprived of all Chance to bear Rule in these Kingdoms. Con-

Consistent with these wise and honourable Intentions in the Administration to lessen our *Debts* and *Taxes*, our *Minister* was not only the Parent of the *Sinking Fund* for their *Redemption*, but used his most indefatigable Efforts since to raise *that Fund* to such a Height, so early as in the Year 1727, that in about Twenty-nine Years afterwards it would not have left the Nation a single Penny in Debt, had *Europe* so long continued in a State of Repose and Tranquillity; which not being the Case, the Exigency of our Affairs required the Application of *that Fund* to the current Service, to prevent the raising of *new Taxes*.

Still more and more to increase this *Fund*, in order the more expeditiously to discharge our Debts, it is further observable, that no laudable Care has been wanting in the good Management of the *Revenues*, by the Prevention of all notorious Frauds therein practis'd; and this by the mildest Measures, no way favouring of arbitrary and illegal Proceedings. And are not the Debts of a Country either to be paid off by well managing the present *Revenues*, or by laying new Duties and Impositions? If the latter be more eligible than the former, why have our *Patriots* never proposed it? Such Measures in the Administration therefore could only tend to forward the Payment of our Debts.

By keeping us out of Wars likewise, does it not appear that our *Revenues* and *Trade* have been considerably augmented since the last War? With what Intention could such Conduct be preferr'd, but to free us the sooner from that Burthen our Ministers have been shamefully charg'd with increasing? Had not such Reluctance been shewn to War-like Councils, would not our Gains have been so exorbitant between the *Exchange* and the
I
Exchequer,

Exchequer, that we should have had fewer Traders, our Trade less extensive, our Revenues far less than they have been for these twenty Years past, the Nation drain'd of its Cash, and other Nations run away with our Trade, and this for ever, perhaps, by their *Neutrality*? Whether the happy Prevention of all these ill Consequences to the Nation has not shewn the sincerest Intentions to put us into a Condition to lessen our *National Debts*, let every Man of Candor and Impartiality judge.

It appears then from the great Lines of publick Measures, that they all center in having at Heart the Redemption of our Debts. But, if, on the other Hand, we transiently review the general Behaviour of our *Patriots*, we shall find, that the whole Tenor of their Conduct has been levelled at preventing the good Intentions of our *Redeemers*; and instead of acting in Concert with them to expedite that great Work, they have exerted all their Power to increase the Load of our Incumbrances.

For, I appeal to the whole Scope of their Writings, if our pacifick Forbearance, which has saved this Nation so many Millions of Money, has not been the constant Object of their malign Satire and Ridicule. Have not such Principles been designedly spread through the Nation, to make us believe that the publick Measures were destructive of our *national Trade and Credit*, when the direct contrary is demonstrable? For this is a plain Truth, not to be eclipsed by all the mean Arts of Cavil and Sophistry; that had our *Ministry* followed such Councils as their Enemies have recommended, instead of being so rich and powerful a Kingdom, as to the whole World we now appear to be, by the Figure we make, we might have been an undone People. For had our Wars
been

been ever so successful, if we had engaged when our *Patriots* first clamoured for them, and before *France* and *Spain* had weakened themselves by their late Wars, and we strengthened ourselves by avoiding them: Instead of being able to pay off so considerable a Part of our Debts as we have done, we must unavoidably have run many Millions more in Debt. Indeed our *Patriots* say, “ Had ten Years ago speedy and exemplary “ Justice been executed on the *Spaniards*, our “ Disputes with that Nation might have been unknown to us; for it could not be supposed, “ that the King of *Spain* would have seriously concern’d himself with the Interests of a few avow’d “ Thieves at *Porto Rico* and the *Havana*; nor “ could *France*, in such a Case, have interposed “ with the least Pretence of Justice. * ” What a favourable Opinion do these *Gentlemen* entertain now, of what *France* and *Spain* would have done Ten Years ago? when Ten Years ago, those very *Gentlemen* themselves thundered in our Ears, the Baseness and Perfidy of *France* to *England*, as well as the insulting and tyrannical Temper of *Spain*.

We will suppose however we had engag’d Ten Years ago, as is the Eccho of our Coffee-House-Politicians also; if what these very *Gentlemen* preach’d up of the Treachery of *France* to desert the *Hanover Allies* is to be regarded, might not Warlike Councils at that Time, in their Consequences, have united the Three great *Catholic Powers*; and this when they were all in a better Condition to injure the *Protestant Interest* than they are at present? As our old Ally the *Emperor* was then turned our Enemy, from an Ambition to raise a new *Maritime Power*, upon a Destruction of the Commerce

* *Address to the Electors*, p. 39.

of the *Protestant-Interest*, might not the Affairs of *Europe*, at this critical Conjunction, have taken so fatal a Turn, as to have set all *Christendom* in a Flame, had not the Councils of *Great Britain* then been steer'd with the greatest Delicacy and Moderation?

Instead therefore of our engaging *Ten Years* ago, having a Tendency to put an End to our Differences with *Spain*, 'tis far more probable we might have been engag'd in a War from that Time to the present; which must have so increased our *National Debts*, that we could never hope to see an End to them, tho' we should to the War that occasioned them.

Upon the whole therefore, it must appear to every Man, who gives any candid Attention to these Matters, that the Politicks of our *Patriots* have ever tended to increase the Load of our *Debts* and *Taxes*, but those of *Men in Power* to lessen both.

That our *Patriots* might make you believe they have been strenuous Advocates for the Payment of our *National Debts*, they have affected a very publick-spirited Concern for the Application of the *Sinking Fund* to that Purpose. But, unfortunate *Gentlemen*, they have so greatly over-acted their Part, that it appears instead of their really being under any Concern for the inviolable Application of that sacred Treasure, as they have term'd it, to the Payment of our *Debts*, their Politicks have not only been levelled at the absolute Destruction of the very Being of *that Fund*, when it was scarce brought to a Maturity, *Ten Years* ago, but are diametrically opposite to the Existence of any such *Fund* at all. For, as we have it from their own Mouths,* *That upon our engaging in a War,*

* *Case of the Sinking Fund*, p. 128.

War, the Revenues arising from Trade may be so greatly lessened, as to reduce the Sinking Fund to its primitive Nothing; so these Gentlemen being so strenuous to push the Administration into a War, shews that their Measures tend to our total Deprivation of that Fund, and consequently to the postponing of the Payment of our National Debts to a long Day.

In giving some little Attention for Self-satisfaction to the late Controversies on our *Funds and Revenues*, I could not but observe, amidst numberless other Inconsistencies of our *Patriots*, when it has suited a temporary Purpose, that they tell us the *Reduction of Interest*, which first gave Being to the *Sinking Fund*, was taking away so much of the *spending Money of the Nation*; that the *Diminution of Taxes* should have went Hand in Hand with the *Reduction of Interest*;† that bringing our *Irredeemable Debts* into a State of Redemption, in order to bring about the *Reduction of Interest*, was unnecessary; that therefore the *Proprietors of the Irredeemables* did wrong in acquiescing to the Alteration their Properties then underwent;* as likewise, that the *Incorporation of the National Debt into the Three great Companies*, was prejudicial to publick Credit. These, with other Sentiments of the like Tendency, which have occasionally dropt from the Pens of these *Gentlemen*, in divers Parts of their Writings, to lessen the Merit of those to whom we are indebted for bringing our Debts into a *redeemable State*, shew that our *Patriot-Politicks* strike at the very Being of a *Sinking Fund*; and therefore is it not a mere Farce for the same Persons to pretend

F

† *Considerations on the National Debts, Sinking Fund, and the State of Publick Credit.* Printed 1729. p. 82.

* *State of the National Debt*, printed for Franklin, p. 59.

tend so tender a Regard for the sacred Appropriation of a Treasure, it appears, they had rather never existed? For how could a general *Fund* to sink our Debts ever have taken place at all, had not they been first put into a *Redeemable State*, and the Reduction of Interest taken place in consequence thereof? Is it not impossible that such a *Fund* should ever have had *Being* at all, if the Diminution of our *Taxes* had went Hand in Hand with the Reduction of Interest? Sure these *Gentlemen* must entertain a most contemptible Opinion of the Understandings of their *Countrymen*, if they can imagine such Sentiments will convince them, that they ever had any sincere Intentions to contribute to the Discharge of our *Debts* and *Taxes*. On the contrary, does not all their *Patriotism* terminate in preventing those honest Endeavours of our *Ministry* to lessen them?

But to convince you of the Sincerity of our *Patriots* in exerting all their Abilities to reduce our Debts, they forget not to let you know in their Address,* that they supported the late Scheme for reducing Interest to 3 per Cent.; which they do with a View to give a Sanction to the *Secession*, by insinuating, that because the Scheme was rejected by the *Ministry*, therefore they have had no Intention to embrace every Occasion of reducing our Debts. Hear their own Words: "Nor must
 " it be forgot, say they, that the Scheme of a
 " *worthy Patriot*, and strongly supported, tho'
 " in vain, by most of the *Gentlemen* who lately
 " *seceded*, for reducing Interest to 3 per Cent. was
 " rejected by the *Ministry* at that Time, and per-
 " haps will never be in our Power again."

However *worthy* may be the *Patriot* who proposed this Scheme of Reduction, yet his Conduct
 in

* *Address to the Electors, &c.* p. 36.

in Parliament since, shews that he thinks those very *unworthy* who have *seceded*, notwithstanding the Merit they assume of supporting his favourite Scheme. But be the Intentions of that *worthy Patriot* in his Project ever so good to his Country, which I can no way dispute, it does not thence follow that the Scheme was so meritorious, or that those who supported it have any Merit for doing so. — If the Publick are indebted to any body, I cannot but think they are to those who rejected, not to those who supported it. This will appear without any tedious Deduction of Reasoning.

For however speciously it might be pretended, that this 3 *per Cent.* Scheme was calculated for the more speedy lessening the National Debt, and taking off the most burthensome of our Taxes, as was the Title of those Reasons for its Vindication; yet nothing is more demonstrable, than that this Scheme was really calculated to retard and postpone the Payment of our National Debts, and consequently to prolong the Continuance of our Taxes, the direct contrary of what was pretended; and therefore our *Parliamentary Seceders* can have no Pretence to justify their Conduct, because this Scheme was not patroniz'd by the *Ministry*.

That I have not condemn'd this Scheme without some little Examination into its Merits, may be no way improper to shew upon this Occasion, since our *Patriots* set such a Value on themselves for supporting it.

The National Debt, at the Time this Scheme was broach'd, was reckon'd at 48 *Millions*, the whole we will suppose at an Average to carry an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* which amounts to 1,920,000*l.* to which if the *Sinking Fund* of 1,200,000 be added, the Annuity for its Redemption will be

nonquib

F 2

3,120,000,

3,120,000, which would pay off the Debt in little above 24 Years $\frac{1}{4}$.

At the End of 14 Years 21,950,293 may be paid off, and the Debt reduc'd to 26,049,707; the Interest of which by that Time we will suppose to be naturally reduc'd to 3 *per Cent.* if the Balance of Trade continues advancing in our Favour. The Interest of the remaining Debt at 3 *per Cent.* will be 781,491, and gives a *Sinking Fund* of 2,338,509; for 781,491 being deducted from the Annuity 3,120,000, leaves the above *Sinking Fund*.

If, on the other hand, we review the propos'd Scheme, and likewise suppose the Debt 48 *Millions* as before, the Interest at 3 *per Cent.* will be 1,440,000; which deducted from the Annuity of 3,120,000 leaves 1,680,000 for the *Sinking Fund*, on the 3 *per Cent.* Scheme.

Suppose further, this *Sinking Fund* apply'd to the Debts not made irredeemable by the new Scheme, which were about 6,000,000, they would be discharg'd by the *Sinking Fund* of 1,680,000 in less than three Years and an half. By this Time therefore the Debt would have been reduced to 42 *Millions*, the Interest whereof at 3 *per Cent.* is 1,260,000; which deducted from the Annuity of 3,120,000 as before, leaves a *Sinking Fund* of 1,860,000 applicable to the current Service; and which could not increase till after the Expiration of 14 Years, agreeable to the new Project.

If then the whole of the *Sinking Fund* be apply'd to the Payment of the remaining Debt, it will be done in a little more than 17 Years and an half. These 17 Years and an half being added to the first 14 Years, the Time which Part of the Debt was to have been put into a State of Irre-

demption,

demption, makes 31 Years and an half, the Time wherein, according to this Scheme, the Debt would have been paid off.

But it having been before shewn, that without this new Variation in the State of our Funds, the Debt might have been discharg'd in little more than 24 Years and a quarter, there is seven Years and a quarter Advantage in Point of Expedition in the Discharge of our Debts, in Favour of the State our Funds are in, without undergoing that new Alteration. Whence it is demonstrable the Supporters of this Scheme most shamefully impos'd upon the Publick, when they told 'em that this Project was a more expeditious Way of getting rid of our Debts; for low Interest can only promote the quick Discharge of our Debts by increasing the *Sinking Fund*, and retaining the same Annuity, and consequently not diminishing Taxes. For if the same *Sinking Fund* only be retain'd, and the Annuity on the whole lessened by the Sum arising from the lowering the Rate of Interest, it is demonstrable that the Debt must be longer in paying off by a *Sinking Fund* at a lower Rate of Interest than it would have been at a higher. Whence it is evident, that those *Gentlemen* who tell us the Diminution of Taxes going Hand in Hand with the Reduction of Interest is the shortest Way to pay off our Debts, reduce our Taxes, and preserve publick Credit, either do not understand what they talk about; or have the most evil Intentions to perplex and confound, instead of enlighten the Understandings of their Countrymen in Matters of this important Nature.

And tho' I have heard all that has been urged in Favour of this Scheme, yet it would be very easy to shew likewise, was it not unnecessary at this time of Day, that however publick-spirited might
be

be the Intentions of the Projectors; yet that this Scheme not only postpon'd the Payment of our Debts, but was highly detrimental to national Trade; carried near a Million and a half of Money out of the Nation, was impracticable, and greatly injurious to *publick Credit*. But all I have in View at present is only to make it briefly appear to you, that our *Patriots* are not entitled to any Regard from their Country for having supported such a Scheme; but those who prevented its Success have manifested the best Intentions to pay off our Debts; and shew'd superior Knowledge in the *Funds, Trade and Credit*, to those who either projected or supported this Scheme.

Notwithstanding these *Patriot-like* Endeavours to prevent the regular Discharge of our National Debts, agreeable to the present Constitution of our Funds and Revenues; and the unwearied Labours of the Enemies of our *Ministers* to force their Country into Wars to increase the Burthen of our Debts; yet under all those Difficulties and Obstacles at home, and the restless Attempts of our Enemies to disturb us abroad; yet is it not very extraordinary, that instead of our Debts being increas'd, they have been considerably diminish'd since the present Ministry had the Management of our *Finances*? For tho' the nominal Capital has been reduc'd from *Christmas 1717* to *Christmas 1725*, no more than 3,290,823 6 3; and from *Christmas 1725* to *Christmas 1738* 5,031,260 00 11; yet the Alteration made in the Nature of the Debt when made redeemable by Parliament, in consequence of which, Reductions of Interest have followed, which otherwise could not have happened, nor the Happiness of a *Sinking Fund* been obtained: these Alterations, I say, made in the Nature of the Debt, the State of

of the Nation is far superior in Point of Wealth and Power to what either our Enemies at home or abroad desire. For as these Reductions of Interest are lessening the Burthen of our Debts; so they are in effect lessening the Debt itself. For if we compute Interest at 4 *per Cent.* every 1 *per Cent.* reduced is equal to a Reduction of 25 *per Cent.* in the Capital. So that from the Variation our Funds have undergone by the Skill of our Ministry in *Money-Affairs* and *National Credit*; from their general Conduct hitherto in keeping above Seven Eighths of the Money rais'd for the current Service within ourselves, the Weight of our Debts is certainly thereby become very light and easy; but had *Patriot Measures* taken place in their room, instead of our being in a better Condition to engage in a War than any other Nation in *Europe*, we might by this time have not dared to have shewn our Head, even to *Spain* alone, much less have been in a Capacity to bid Defiance to the united Power of both *France* and *Spain*; and this without any other Allies than those of our own *Fleets*, and our own *Treasure*.

Was I to enter into all the little Arts of Misrepresentation with regard to the State of our Debts, and the Application of those Funds appropriated for the Payment of their Interest, &c. that have been practis'd to discredit the Administration, by not only representing us in a beggarly and contemptible Condition in general, but by insinuating that the *Moneys* appropriated by Parliament were not duly apply'd to their proper Uses: Was I to enter minutely into these Things, the Enemies of our *Ministry* would make but a very despicable Figure in the Eye of the Publick. But these Matters are too tedious for general Perusal, after having spun this Enquiry to the Length I have done.

I shall

I shall only therefore observe at present, that had these *Gentlemen* the Application of the *Sinking Fund* to the Payment of our Debts so much at heart as they have pretended, they would not only have avoided distressing an Administration, who appear so steddily to have pursued the Honour and Interest of the Nation, but would have proposed all reasonable Measures for the Improvement of the *Revenue*, in order to add to *that Fund*; or would have proposed the raising such Money as publick Exigency made absolutely necessary, by increasing the *Publick Debts* by farther Loans upon Interest provided for by new Duties, rather than to force the Administration to supply the same Sums from the *Sinking Fund*. For this is a certain Truth, as was formerly observed by a *Gentleman* very well skill'd in those Affairs, That if the Government, by the Addition of a new Debt for the publick Service, pay simple Interest for it only; and by supplying it from the *Sinking Fund* lose the Benefit of compound Interest for the same Sums, it cannot be long doubted, which of these Methods of supplying our Necessities is least expensive to the Publick, or will longest delay the Payment of our Debts: But these *Gentlemen* have never done any thing for the Benefit of *that Fund*, for which they have affected so extraordinary a Zeal.

Were our *Patriots* actuated by an honest Desire to explain and render intelligible those Things which are so mysterious to the Generality, and yet of so much Importance to the publick Welfare, they would never have publish'd their late *Enquiry into the Conduct of our domestick Affairs*. For that *Enquiry* has been demonstrated to be the most scandalous and shameful Misrepresentation of the true State of our *Funds*, and their *Application*; * done only

* *Some Considerations concerning the Publick Funds, the Publick Revenues, and the annual Supplies, &c.* Printed 1735.

only to propagate groundless Jealousies and Apprehensions thro' the Kingdom, and to induce foreign Nations, who can be suppos'd to have little Idea of those Matters, when so few of our *Countrymen* are thoroughly acquainted with them, to conceive too despicable an Opinion of our Wealth and our Power, till they have obliged us now to make them appear to the whole World. For however greatly foreign Nations, as well as our own *Countrymen*, may have been impos'd upon with respect to the true State of this Nation; yet it is apparent from this slight Survey of our Measures, that they have put us into a better Condition to engage in a vigorous War, than that of any other Nation in *Europe*.

As the *Landed Interest* have received so considerable an Easement for these Twenty Years past, they are in a Condition now to contribute their Proportion towards the Support of a vigorous War. We have every Sign likewise, that the *Trading Interest* in general is very considerably advanc'd since the late Wars. For tho' some peculiar Branches of our Trade may not have increased in Proportion as the *Manufacturers* and *Traders* therein have done, not only by reason of Rival-Nations therein, but from, what I am equally concern'd to mention, a shameful Degeneracy in our Manufacturers from the ancient Standard and Delicacy of some of our Commodities; Complaints of which, it is well known to the *Mercantile World*, come too often from our foreign Correspondents: Tho' from these Causes some Branches may have suffered, yet our Increase of other new Branches have certainly very well compensated for these Injuries we have brought upon ourselves.

And tho' from the Increase of People in our own Country, and Increase of Traders in consequence

quence thereof; tho' many Nations not only supply themselves with what we furnish'd them, but have endeavour'd to rival us; yet as People in *Europe*, and indeed in the whole World increase, and will do perhaps while there is any uninhabited Territory left; the Increase of Traders at home, and Rivals abroad, is no Argument of the Decay of our national Trade in particular. Nay, as a comprehensive View of the State of the Nation, with respect to its Commerce and Navigation, too large a Field to enter into fully in a Work of this Kind, affords us every Symptom of the general Increase of our Trade and national Wealth; so the whole Trading Interest of *Great Britain* is now in a better Condition to contribute their Proportion for the Support of a War, than they were in any other Point of Time whatever.

And tho' the *Money'd Interest* reap'd very great Advantages from the late Wars, and thereby hurt *National Trade* by contracting the Riches of the Nation into too narrow a Compass; yet so happily have our Affairs been manag'd under the present Royal Family, that the Gains of this Part of the Community have not only been very moderate of late Years, (whereby more Money has been thrown into Trade) but they have by the Reductions of Interest refunded no inconsiderable Part of their former Acquisitions for the general Support of the State. As therefore this Part of the Kingdom were, at the Expence of the Landed and Trading Interests, the chief Gainers by the last Wars; so late Measures have advanc'd the Interest of *Trade* and *Land* at the Expence, in a great measure, of the *Money'd Interest*: which shews how wisely publick Measures have been accommodated to the general Welfare of the Nation, and the better to put the *Whole* into a Capacity vigorously

to support the Honour and Interest of the Nation; when our Neighbours aim at checking our growing Prosperity.

From this short Review of the past Conduct of our *Ministers*, and from that of those *Gentlemen* who have so many Years oppos'd them, which I wish had been undertaken by somebody of far more Leisure and Ability, it appears that the malevolent, restless and discontented Spirit rais'd by our *Patriots* in these Kingdoms, has proceeded from quite other Causes than those of a generous Concern for the Well-being and Prosperity of their Country.

That we have not long before this Time reveng'd ourselves upon the *Spaniards*, is not for want of Strength and Power; nor certainly for want of Ability in our *Ministers*, as happily to conduct our Affairs in a State of War, as in that of Peace, as also to support and secure themselves, as well in the one Scene as the other: No, it is apparent their Motives for that Forbearance, for which they have been so infamously scourg'd and vilify'd, have only proceeded from a better Knowledge of the true Interest of these Kingdoms than their Enemies appear to have.

Have we then been the Dupes and Bubbles of *Europe*? Were we the Bubbles of *France* when we drew them into the *Hanover Alliance*, to spend Millions for the Preservation of *Gibraltar* to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and for the Abolition of the *Ostend Company*? Was it impolitick in the *Protestant Interest* to make the Weight of a *Catholic Power* subservient to the Preservation of their Trade and most valuable Possessions? Has *Spain* hurt *England*, or themselves, by their extravagant Expence to set up a *Neapolitan Prince*? Whoever knows any thing of the Sense of the

Spaniards, and the present State of *Old Spain*, knows the direct contrary. Wherein does it concern the *Balance of Power*, the *Protestant Interest*, or the *British Commerce*, whether *Don Carlos*, or his *Imperial Majesty*, be Sovereign of *Naples* and *Sicily*? Nay, as the new King may soon become quite independent of the *Spanish Monarchy*, and whose Security will in a great measure depend on the *Maritime Power* of *England*, is he not likely to give greater Encouragement to the Commerce and Navigation of *Britain*, than his *Imperial Majesty* was ever likely to do?

From the Intrigues of *Spain* in *Italy* therefore we have been so far Gainers, as they have tended to weaken *Old Spain*, and give us a View of enlarging our Commerce in the *Neopolitan Territories*. And what Losers are we likely to be by our present Disputes with *that Crown*, on account of the Dominion they usurp to themselves in the *American Seas*? Instead of our being the Bubbles of *Spain*, it requires no great Foresight to foretel, that from the Weakness of her Councils in the Lengths *that Crown* has hitherto gone with *Great Britain*, she will at last become the Bubble of all *Europe*. For is not *Spanish Politicks* more likely to bring all the *Maritime Powers* upon her Back, than to make any of them her true Friends, unless such in Conjunction with her are aiming at that Dominion in *America*, or a Dominion over *Great Britain* in general?

If *France* have amused *Spain* with a Dependence upon her Arms against *Great Britain*, perhaps it was only to try the Resolution and Steadiness of our *Administration*, and whether we were in the true Sense of the Kingdom, such a distress'd and bankrupt Nation, as the Enemies of our *Ministry* would have the World believe. But *France* and
Spain

Spain too now experience, to their no little Concern, that we have those at the Head of our Affairs, who have rais'd the Power of *Great Britain* to a Degree far beyond their Expectations; and that the great Council of the Nation have suppress'd *Faction*, and supported the *Ministry* only from the Uprightness of their Measures.

All *Europe* is now convinc'd of the true Spirit of our *Patriots*; that they have been influenc'd by Views no way tending to the true Prosperity and Glory of their Country; and that they have endeavour'd to deceive the whole World, as much as their *Countrymen* at home. But publick Measures, if but impartially and candidly regarded, will speak for themselves; their own Merit, with Men of Observation, will support themselves; they require no scribbling for that purpose, if People will but shew a dispassionate, impartial and disinterested Disposition.

Instead therefore of its being a Badge of Reproach and Discredit to any *Englishman*, on account of his having contributed to the Support of an *Administration*, that has so faithfully and wisely supported the true Interest and Glory of our Country; I cannot but think, and this from the sincerest Conviction, that it is the greatest Honour to such *Gentlemen*, and Posterity will assuredly think so.

If any one indeed has either supported or condemn'd publick Measures for the mere sake of a *Reward*, or for *Want* of one, and not from a Conviction of their Rectitude, or otherwise; such a one, be he whom he will, may be a *Self-christen'd-Patriot*, but shall never have that sacred Character from me.

If Men, who have it in their Power, will not support upright Councils without being paid for it,

it, such are as little deserving of Reverence and Esteem from their *Countrymen*, as those who will publicly condemn Measures, they in their Hearts approve, for want of being paid.

And however constantly it has been rung in our Ears, that the present is a corrupt *Administration*, and that all who have acted in Concert therewith are corrupt Tools of Power, who would vote away the Trade and Liberties of their Country for *Places* and *Pensions*; yet how does it appear, that the *Administration*, and its *Supporters*, are deserving of this Treatment from any of their *Countrymen*? Is it because this Nation has been kept so many Years out of *European Wars*? Is it because we have spent but *Twenty-eight Millions of Money* in twelve Years by keeping out of War, when the Ten Years of the last War we spent *Forty-eight Millions five hundred and thirteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-three Pounds*? Are the *Ministry*, and the *Gentlemen* who have supported them, to be blacken'd and vilified, because so little of the Money rais'd these Twenty Years has been spent out of the Nation, and so much upon raising of our *Royal Fleet*, which is able to protect our Trade against any Power who shall dare to injure it? Is a strong Navy any way consistent with a corrupt *Ministry* and *Parliament*? Is it not a Matter the *House of Commons* are well vers'd in and us'd to; the Charges of it fully known, and easily stated; where there is no inserting dark and deceitful Articles, whereby to screen any corrupt Embezzlement of the publick Money? Does the Oeconomy which a great Fleet admits of, consist well with a vicious *Court*, and a corrupt *Administration*? Is the national Frugality, which this has introduc'd, a fruitful Field for such as mean to grow rich apace, whatever it cost the Nation?

Nation? Is the saving the *Landed Interest* near *Eight hundred thousand Pounds* a Year for so many Years together, a Sign of a corrupt *Ministry* and *Parliament*? When Land continues too long under high Taxes, does it not bring such Poverty upon the *Gentry*, as must hinder the *Poor* from being employed, hurt Consumption of our Home-*Produce*, and interrupt our foreign Traffick? Is the Prevention of such Evils a Sign of a corrupt *Ministry* and *Parliament*?

Does the hitherto Prevention of the Diminution of our Revenues on Trade by Peace, shew that the true Interest of our Commerce and Navigation have been neglected? Do the many Millions which appear hereby to be saved to the *Trading Part* of this Kingdom, shew that the real Prosperity of this Nation has been disregarded by Three succeeding *Parliaments*?

Does the raising of a *Sinking Fund* of a *Million two hundred thousand Pounds per Ann.* and preferring peaceful to warlike Councils, in order to preserve the Being of *that Fund*, shew the present *Administration* have had no Intention to reduce our Debts and Taxes? Does the Rejection of the late *3 per Cent. Scheme*, shew that our *Representatives* have not always been dispos'd to lessen our Incumbrances? Where then are the Signs of a corrupt *Ministry*, and a corrupt *Parliament*? But perhaps it may be, because our *Fleets* and the *Hanover-Alliance* dissolv'd the injurious Conjunction of *Spain* and the *Emperor* without fighting? Or is it because our Navy is rais'd to such a Pitch, as that even our pacifick Fleets and *Spithead* Expeditions, as they have been facetiously call'd, have preserv'd our Trade and Possessions, without the ill Consequences of even the most successful War? If these
are

are not Signs of a corrupt *Ministry*, I suppose it may be perhaps, because we have suffered our Neighbour-Nations to be engag'd in expensive Wars, while we have kept out of them, and increas'd our Trade by a *Neutrality*?

Should you not believe, after all, that *England* has of late been govern'd by a corrupt *Ministry* and corrupt *Parliaments*, our *Patriots* will prove it by a very short Argument; for, according to them, that *Parliament* is corrupt, which has prevented the Subversion of our Constitution, aim'd at by repealing the *Riot-Act*, and proposing the ever-memorable *Military Scheme* and the *Place-Bill*, to reduce a King of *England* below a *Venetian Doge*, and to render the Service of the *Crown* and the *People* inconsistent.

Is it a Sign of a corrupt *Ministry* and *Parliament*, that they have suffered themselves so many Years to be abused and calumniated by the most impudent and scurrilous Drudges of ———, rather than to throw in the Weight of their Power to crush the Herd of little pitiful Revilers; lest by doing themselves common Justice, they should do the least Injury to the Liberties of their Country.

But I am afraid this Roar of a corrupt *Ministry*, and a corrupt *Parliament*, is to gloss over and conceal from the vulgar Eye, such a Scene of corrupt *Patriotism*, as was never practis'd in any Nation, or at any Time. And if ever a *British Spirit* arises in a *British Parliament*; false Accusers, Defamers, and Misrepresenters of publick Affairs, will, one time or other, be liable to the same just Condemnation and Punishment that, I hope, all really corrupt and wicked *Ministers* may meet with. For *Ministers* in *England* otherwise, who
are

are Lovers of Liberty, and will lay no Restraint upon the Freedom of the Press, are liable to be hunted down by the Power of Invective, Scandal and Misrepresentation; the People being always more inclinable to read and hear any thing of that Spirit, than of the contrary. Whereby we must expect, that from such Treatment of Men in Power, the honestest and ablest Men in the State will be frighten'd from undertaking the Administration of our Affairs; from whence must follow such Negligence, Distraction and Weakness in the Management of publick Business, as must soon render us the Reproach, Contempt, and Dupes of the whole World: For it may not be the Happiness of every able and honest *Minister*, so bravely to support himself against such an impetuous Torrent of Opposition as the present has met with; and therefore the best of *Ministers*, at this rate, may be sacrific'd by the worst of Men.

I cannot but think therefore, that the too great Prevalence of late Years of that partial Spirit, which too many of my Countrymen have shewn, in Favour of all Writings and Measures of those in the Opposition, and the Disregard and Inattention shewn to every Thing, and every Person indiscriminately, that has appeared to set the Conduct of the Government in a just Light, may be attended in time with the Loss of our Liberties. For, as has been justly observed,* “ When *Ministers* honestly submit their Conduct to publick Examination, lay aside all Authority, and join Issue at Argument, are they not entitled, as *Englishmen*, to a fair Hearing? Will not *Ministers* say, and very justly too, Since the People will hear nothing for us, they have no Right

H

“ to

* Address to the Merchants.

“ to hear any thing *against* us? And thus will
 “ not an End be put to all our Liberties at once?
 “ However tender the present *Gentlemen*, who
 “ have the Honour to serve the Crown, have
 “ been of our Liberties in this respect, no Man
 “ can answer for their Successors. Who can en-
 “ sure us, that the like Treatment will meet with
 “ the like Moderation?”

Upon the whole then: That our *Patriots* should attempt a *Parliamentary Rebellion* against a *Ministry* and *Representative*, who appear to have had at Heart the true Welfare, Prosperity and Honour of this Nation, is carrying Things to a very extravagant Pitch of Infatuation; and is what, I am afraid, they can never answer either to their God, or their Country; it being the most fatal Blow perhaps that could be ever given to the very *Being* of *Parliaments*.

But was I to attempt a Delineation of the whole *political System* of our *Patriots*, I am apt to believe I could make it appear, that they have done the most that ever Men did to destroy our well-poiz'd Constitution; and consequently our Liberties, under pretence of preserving them; that they have taken all wild and extravagant Measures to injure our Commerce and Navigation, under pretence of being the greatest Friends to them; and that they have exerted all their Power to prevent the Discharge of our *National Debts*, under pretence of contending for their *Reduction*. — But I have done; and done nothing, but what from my Reason and Conscience I think to be right, from the best Judgment I am able to pass upon publick Affairs. If I have started any thing that is not
 Support-

supportable, I am ready to receive Conviction
from those who shall be so kind as to give it me.
I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your affectionate Fellow-Subject,

and humble Servant, &c.



I am,
from those who shall be to give
supportable (I am ready to receive)

GENTLEMEN

out of the same I follow Subject

and humble servant, etc

